

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 04116 191606Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----191613Z 087176 /41
Z 191533Z MAY 77
FM USDEL SECRETARY GENEVA
TO WHITE HOUSE WASHDC FLASH
SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH

S E C R E T SECTO 4116

NODIS CHEROKEE

FOR THE PRESIDENT AND THE ACTING SECRETARY ONLY
FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)
SUBJECT: MAY 19 MORNING MEETING WITH GROMYKO

1. AT THIS MORNING'S MEETING I CONTINUED THE THINKING-
OUT-LOUD PROCESS BY GIVING OUR SUGGESTIONS OF WHAT THE
CONTENT OF THE THREE-PART FRAMEWORK MIGHT BE, FOLLOWING
CLOSELY THE INSTRUCTIONS AND THE APRIL 23 MEMORANDUM
AS AMENDED. I ALSO EXPLAINED WHY WE THOUGHT THERE
SHOULD BE A TREATY THROUGH 1985, AN INTERIM AGREEMENT
FOR 2 YEARS, AND A JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES TO
GOVERN SALT III. I CONCLUDED BY GOING THROUGH A COMPARI-
SON OF WHERE WE DIFFERED AND WHY WE THOUGHT EACH OF
OUR SUGGESTIONS HAD MERIT.

2. GROMYKO ADLIBBED A LONG RESPONSE, SOME OF WHICH WAS
FOR DEBATING PURPOSES. IT WAS MY IMPRESSION, HOWEVER
THAT HE IS BEGINNING TO TALK IN TERMS OF OUR GENERAL
FRAMEWORK, AT LEAST AS A PROCEDURE, THOUGH HE RAISED
THE QUESTION OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE TREATY WERE
RATIFIED, AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT DID NOT COME INTO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SECTO 04116 191606Z

FORCE. NEVERTHELESS, HE CONTINUED TO TALK AS IF THERE
WOULD BE SEPARATE ELEMENTS OF AN INTEGRAL WHOLE, EACH
PART INTERDEPENDENT, AND BEING SIGNED TOGETHER.

3. HE DID SINGLE OUT THE 190 SUB-LIMIT ON THE SS-18
FOR REBUTTAL, AND SAID AGAIN IT WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED.

4. ON FBS HE WAS SOMEWHAT CONFUSING. HE SAID THAT IF THERE WERE A VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT, THEY WOULD LIMIT THEMSELVES TO THE UNILATERAL STATEMENT ON FBS THAT THEY HAD ALREADY INTRODUCED INTO THE REGULAR NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA. THIS WAS IN RESPONSE TO MY PRESENTATION IN WHICH I HAD SAID THAT WE COULD NOT INCLUDE FBS IN ANY JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES BECAUSE FBS WAS NOT PART OF SALT. IT IS STILL UNCLEAR TO ME WHERE EXACTLY THEY WILL COME DOWN ON THE ENTIRE FBS QUESTION, WHICH GROMYKO CONTINUES TO EMPHASIZE VERY STRONGLY.

5. HE ALSO COMPLAINED RATHER STRONGLY ABOUT BACKFIRE BEING A PART OF ANY INTERIM AGREEMENT, HIS POINT BEING THAT THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT ANYTHING ON A BILATERAL BASIS CONCERNING BACKFIRE. THIS WOULD BE HANDLED BY A UNILATERAL SOVIET STATEMENT. WE RETURNED TO THIS LATER, HOWEVER.

6. FOLLOWING A SHORT BREAK, BEGAN TO COMMENT ON SOME OF HIS REMARKS. I NOTED THAT AS FAR AS THE THREE-PART FRAMEWORK WAS CONCERNED, THERE HAD BEEN THE PRECEDENT IN THE FIRST SALT AGREEMENT OF A PERMANENT TREATY AND AN INTERIM AGREEMENT FOR FIVE YEARS. I ALSO ASKED HIM WHETHER IT WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THEIR POSITION IF BACKFIRE WERE TREATED SEPARATELY FROM AN INTERIM AGREEMENT, WHICH PRODUCED HIS STATEMENT THAT THERE COULD BE NO BILATERAL DOCUMENT AT ALL. ON THE BACKFIRE, I CONTINUED THAT THIS POSED A SENSITIVE, POLITICAL ISSUE IN THE CONGRESS. THE BACKFIRE, IF COMPLEMENTED BY TANKERS, SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SECTO 04116 191606Z

FOR EXAMPLE, WOULD BECOME AN INTERCONTINENTAL SYSTEM. THEREFORE, LACKING SPECIFIC ASSURANCES, FOR EXAMPLE THAT IT WOULD NOT BE EXERCISED AS A HEAVY BOMBER OR GIVEN A TANKER CAPABILITY, THERE WOULD BE GREAT CONCERN IN THE CONGRESS, WHICH WOULD BE CALLED UPON TO RATIFY THE SALT TREATY. GROMYKO RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT THEIR ASSURANCES WENT MUCH FURTHER THAN THE COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS BECAUSE THEY WERE SAYING THE BACKFIRE WOULD NOT BE GIVEN "ANY" CAPABILITY FOR ACTING AS AN INTERCONTINENTAL BOMBER. THIS LED TO AN EXCHANGE IN WHICH I THINK THEY BEGAN TO UNDERSTAND OUR POINT THAT THEIR ASSURANCES WOULD HAVE TO BE ELABORATED BY GIVING SPECIFICS, AND GROMYKO SAID HE WOULD THINK ABOUT THIS. WE ALSO HAD A BRIEF EXCHANGE ON HEAVY MISSILES IN WHICH I STRESSED THE RECIPROCAL NATURE OF THE INTERIM RESTRAINTS ON CRUISE MISSILES ON OUR SIDE AND HEAVY MISSILES ON THEIR SIDE.

7. GROMYKO THEN SUGGESTED WE ADJOURN AND RETURN TO THE

MIDDLE EAST THIS AFTERNOON AT 5:00 P.M. AND THEY WOULD
THINK OVER AND REFLECT UPON THE SUGGESTIONS I HAD MADE
AT THIS MORNING'S SESSION.

8. I EXPECT THAT GROMYKO WILL HAVE A FAIRLY FULL REBUTTAL
TOMORROW ON SALT, HITTING HARD ON FBS, THE NECESSITY FOR
LIMITING CRUSIE MISSILES (AT LEAST ALCMS) IN CONNECTION
WITH VLADIVOSTOK AND RESISTING STRONGLY ANY LIMITS ON
HEAVY MISSILES. INEVERTHELESS, I THINK HE IS CLOSE TO
ACCEPTING THE FRAMEWORK OF A TREATY, AN INTERIM AGREEMENT
AND A JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. HE DID TAKE CREDIT
TODAY FOR HAVING PROPOSED A JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES
AND REVERSED HIMSELF BY SAYING THIS WOULD NOT BE A
SLOW OR DIFFICULT PROCESS.

9. AFTER THIS EVENING'S SESSION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, I
MAY WANT TO GIVE YOU SOME FURTHER REFLECTIONS ON HOW THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SECTO 04116 191606Z

DISCUSSIONS HERE MIGHT BE CONCLUDED AS FAR AS THE FRAME-
WORK FOR SALT IS CONCERNED. VANCE

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, MEETING REPORTS, FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), CAT-B, CHEROKEE 05/19/77
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 19-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977SECTO04116
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: FOR THE PRESIDENT AND ACTING SECRETARY ONLY
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: P840081-2144, N770003-0426
Format: TEL
From: SECRETARY GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770539/aaaabhky.tel
Line Count: 141
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ced3cc8f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2449061
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MAY 19 MEETING WITH GROMYKO
TAGS: PARM, OVIP, PFOR, US, UR, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH)
To: STATE SS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ced3cc8f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009